USAWC STRATEGIC RESEARCH PROJECT

ISLAM AND TERRORISM

by

COMMANDER WILLIE BURKE, JR.
United States Navy

Dr. Larry Goodson
Project Advisor

The views expressed in this academic research paper are those of the
author and do not necessarily reflect the official policy or position of the
U.S. Government, the Department of Defense or any of its agencies.

U.S. Army War College
CARLISLE BARRACKS, PENNSYLVANIA 17013

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Form Approved OMB No. 0704-0188

1. REPORT DATE (DD-MM-YYYY) 07-04-2003	2. REPORT TYPE	3. DATES COVERED (FROM - TO) xx-xx-2002 to xx-xx-2003

4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE
Islam and Terrorism
Unclassified

5a. CONTRACT NUMBER
5b. GRANT NUMBER
5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER

6. AUTHOR(S)
Burke, Willie ; Author

5d. PROJECT NUMBER
5e. TASK NUMBER
5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS
U.S. Army War College
Carlisle Barracks
Carlisle, PA17013-5220

8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER

9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME AND ADDRESS
,

10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)

11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)

12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
APUBLIC RELEASE
,

13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

14. ABSTRACT
See attached file.

15. SUBJECT TERMS

16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT Same as Report (SAR)	18. NUMBER OF PAGES 26	19. NAME OF RESPONSIBLE PERSON Rife, Dave RifeD@awc.carlisle.army.mil
a. REPORT Unclassified	b. ABSTRACT Unclassified	c. THIS PAGE Unclassified			19b. TELEPHONE NUMBER International Area Code Area Code Telephone Number DSN

Standard Form 298 (Rev. 8-98)
Prescribed by ANSI Std Z39.18

ABSTRACT

AUTHOR: Willie Burke, Jr., CDR, United States Navy

TITLE: Islam and Terrorism

FORMAT: Strategic Research Project

DATE: 24 April 2003   Pages: 26   CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified

This paper examines Islamic terrorism and explains why Americans are targets of their aggression. Americans have been targets of terrorist acts of violence for decades, but on 11 September 2001 the gravity of this situation pierced American consciousness. The resulting mass casualties made Americans realize that the American homeland is not impervious to terrorist's attacks. There's no magic shield around its borders that protect it from terrorism. Because of America's open door policy for immigrants and tourists and because terrorists are not readily identifiable at a glance, they cannot easily be restricted from entering the United States. The only super power in the world today with the greatest military in existence cannot totally prevent terrorism from striking in the heartland of America. This SRP explains why these new adversaries hate the United States and are willing to sacrifice their own lives to destroy U.S. property, institutions, and people. Knowing the source of their animosity may assist in rendering them less effective in their destructive endeavors.

iv

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ISLAM AND TERRORISM

Today the association of Islam with Middle East terrorism is common among Americans.[1] Evidence shows that Muslim terrorists are responsible for attacks against American Embassies, and against individual Americans in foreign countries, and within the borders of the United States. More recently, Muslim terrorists were responsible for the attacks against America on 11 September 2001, which left Americans angry, and eager for revenge. This SRP distinguishes Islam from terrorism and offer ways to reduce Islamic terrorist attacks on the U.S. and its citizens.

On 20 September 2001, President George W. Bush declared war on terrorism, during a joint session address to Congress, in response to the 11 September 2001 attacks against America. The attack on the Pentagon, the destruction of the World Trade Center Twin Towers, and the hijacking and crash of United Air Lines flight 93 in Somerset County, PA served as reminders that the United States is as vulnerable to terrorism as the rest of the world and marked the turning point in America's confrontation with terrorists. The United States is committed to meet the challenge of protecting the security of its citizens from terrorism around the world. Although America's open door policy makes it impossible to stop all terrorists from entering the U.S., the combined efforts of the Department of Homeland Security, the Department of Defense, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the new Terrorist Threat Integration Center will provide the infrastructure to make it difficult for terrorists to succeed.

Associating terrorism with the Islamic religion, however, is an over reaction to current events. Terrorism is not a product of practicing Islam; it is an intimidation tactic and often the only means for terrorists to achieve their goals. The definition of terrorism, according to the U.S. Code of Federal Regulations is: "the unlawful use of force and violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political, or social objectives" (28 C.F.R., Section 0.85). Middle East terrorist organizations are a tiny minority of the region's population, but because of the violent characteristics of these organizations, they have the attention of societies and governments around the world. Hypothetically, if only 10% of 1.3 billion Muslims buy strongly into anti-American doctrine, that equals 130 million terrorist freedom fighters. If 10% of the anti-American Muslims elect to become terrorists, potentially that is 13 million terrorists determined to destroy the United States. That is a formidable statistic and a reason to be concerned about the existence of

Muslim terrorist organizations. In the next section of this paper I will attempt to establish the fact that terrorist organizations are not exclusively Muslim.

WORLD TERRORISM

Terrorist organizations have existed for centuries. The word terrorism was first used in 1795 as a result of French Revolutionaries' use of the guillotine to kill their enemies and intimidate potential adversaries.[2] The French tactics were copied by the Cheka Secret police, founded by Vladimir Lenin in 1918, and later by Nazi Germany's Gestapo. The Nazis were first to characterize the work of the French, the Czech, the Polish, and other resistance movements as terrorism. Two documented, non-Muslim, terrorist organizations that exist today are the Ku Klux Klan and the Irish Republican Army (IRA).

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is an American terrorist organization that was established in approximately 1865 as a social club by former Confederate soldiers.[3] Their mission was to terrorize African-Americans after the Civil War as a demonstration of white supremacy. The America Civil War ended the cultural acceptance of slavery in America and America was experiencing a post Civil War cultural rebirth, which not every American agreed with. Blacks were subjected to demoralizing and often fatal acts of violence to intimidate them to be subservient to the white society. The KKK remains part of American society but their tactics are less violent because of existing civil rights laws and social change.

The Irish Republican Army (IRA) is a political organization that uses terrorist tactics to fight for Ireland's independence from British rule.[4] The grandfathers of the modern day IRA were the United Irishmen of the 1790s. Inspired by the American Revolution and the French Revolution the United Irishmen chose non-violent political methods to gain their independence from Britain, but the denial of the demand for independence by the British government forced them to exercise their right as Irish people to defend their liberty with weapons. The Irish Volunteers (Oglaigh na hEiremann in the Irish language) were established in 1913 and replaced the United Irishmen in the fight for Irish independence. After years of political and violent armed struggle between the British and Irish over Ireland's independence, in 1919 an independent Irish parliament was established and Ireland was declared a sovereign Republic. The Irish Volunteers became the Army of the Republic and established the

beginning of the Irish Republican Army (IRA).   The IRA's struggle to gain Ireland's independence continues because Northern Ireland remains in British hands.

The U.S. Department of State maintains a list of officially designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTOs) from around the world.[5] That list currently contains 33 organizations, of which 12 are of Islamic origin. The list of Islamic FTOs include the following:

Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) – Islamic separatist group operating in the southern Philippines.

Armed Islamic Group (GIA) – Operates in Algeria.

Asbat al-Ansar – A Lebanon-based Sunni extremist group that operates from the 'Ayn al-Hilwah Palestinian refugee camp near Sidon in southern Lebanon.

Al-Gama'a al-Isamiyya (Islamic Group, IG) – Egypt's largest militant group. Operates mainly in the Al-Minya, Asyu't, Quina, and Sohaj Governorates of southern Egypt.

Hamas (Islamic Resistance movement) – Operates primarily in the West Bank, Gaza Strip, and Israel.

Harakat ul-Mujahidin (HUM) (Movement of Holy Warriors) – Operates primarily in Pakistan.

Hizbullah (Party of God, a.k.a. Islamic Jihad) – Operates in the Bekaa Valley, Hermil, the southern suburbs of Beirut, and southern Lebanon, and has established cells in Europe, Africa, South America, North America, and Asia.

Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) – Militants are scattered throughout South Asia and Tajikistan. Area of operation includes Afghanistan, Iran, Kyrgyzstan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

Jaish-e-Mohammed (JEM) (Army of Mohammed) – Based in Pakistan but members conduct terrorist activities primarily in Kashmir.

Al-Jihad (a.k.a. Egyptian Islamic Jihad, Jihad Group, and Islamic Jihad) – Operates in Cairo but most of its network operates in Yemen, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Lebanon, and the United Kingdom.

The Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ) – Operates primarily in Israel, the West Bank, and the Gaza Strip, but also other parts of the Middle East.

Al-Qaida – Has cells worldwide.

Of the FTOs mentioned above, some of the more well-known and dangerous organizations are the Muslim Brotherhood, Hamas, Hizbullah, and Al-Qaida.

The Muslim Brotherhood, officially known as Jamiat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun (the Society of Muslim Brothers) is a religious and political organization founded in 1928 in Egypt by Hasan al-Banna, and is the oldest political Islamist organization in existence. Hasan al-Banna formed the Muslim Brotherhood to revive Islam and counter the effects of British colonial rule. The Brotherhood began as a youth organization with the aims of moral and social reform in Egypt through education and sharing of information about Islam. They are strong believers that Muslims will have political and economic power again if they return to the authentic principles of Islam.[6] The Brotherhood wants to establish a strong Muslim society by operating schools, infirmaries and spreading information by publishing newspapers and magazines. The Muslim Brotherhood views Jihad (Islamic holy war) as a general duty of Muslims and believes that Islam will be established in the Muslim world first, followed by violent Jihad against Israel and the liberation of Palestine. The Brotherhood was banned many times in Egypt but never destroyed. Today the Muslim Brotherhood is a powerful political organization in Egypt, the Sudan, and other Arab countries, but is not considered a violent terrorist organization. The Muslim Brotherhood achieves its goals through passive means, complying and working within the political restrictions placed on the organization, yet still striving to expand Islam and perpetuate the Muslim world. In Jordan the Islamic Action Front is the political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood and an important opposition party. Although violence is not a tactic used by the Muslim Brotherhood, they do not condemn its use. There are, however, splinter groups that have emerged from within the Brotherhood who believe in violent Jihad against non-Muslims, and Muslims that allow Western influence to contaminate the Islamic way of life. The individual heralded as the father of all militant Islam, and considered one of the most famous personalities of the Muslim world in the second half of the 20th century is an Egyptian scholar named Sayyid Qutb.

Sayyid Qutb was a Muslim writer and member of the Muslim Brotherhood who was the most influential advocate of Jihad (Islamic holy war). He is credited with writings that espoused the establishment of an Islamic society through revolution. Qutb was the chief developer of doctrines that legitimized violent Muslim resistance against regimes that claimed to be Muslim, but whose implementation of Islamic principles was determined to be imperfect.[7] He believed that Jews are an incarnation of all that is anti-

Islamic and that Jews will only be satisfied with the final destruction of Islam. Qutb believed that American culture was foul and hollow and was convinced that Islam and Western values were fundamentally divergent. Sayyid Qutb was hanged in a Cairo prison in 1966 and his martyrdom is an inspiration to generations of Muslims who have created a special word in Arabic, Qutbiyyun, translated to mean Qutbites.[8]

Frustrated by continued repression and inspired by Qutb's philosophy, violent terrorist groups splintered from the Muslim Brotherhood, including Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya, the Egyptian Islamic Jihad (a.k.a. Al-Jihad, Jihad Group, or Islamic Jihad) and al Takfir wa'l-Hijrar. Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya is the largest militant group in Egypt, and has been active since 1970. Its spiritual leader, Shaykh Umar Abd al-Rahman, was sentenced to life in prison in the United States in January 1996 for his involvement in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing. Osama bin Laden's 1998 fatwa (religious ruling), calling for attacks against America, was signed by senior members of this organization. The primary goal of Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya is to overthrow the Egyptian government and replace it with an Islamic state.[9] The Egyptian Islamic Jihad has also been active since 1970 and has similar goals as Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya (to overthrow the Egyptian government and replace it with an Islamic state, and to attack U.S. and Israeli interests in Egypt and abroad).[10] In June 2001 the Egyptian Islamic Jihad merged with Osama bin Laden's al-Qaida organization.

Hamas, the Islamic Resistance Movement, was registered in Israel in 1987 by Sheikh Ahmad Yassin. It defines itself as the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood and works primarily in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The goal of Hamas is the violent destruction of Israel and establishment of a liberated Palestinian state through political and violent means. Hamas receives much of its support from Iran.[11]

Hezbullah, the Party of God, also known as Islamic Jihad, is an extremely radical and violent Arab-Palestinian, Shi'ite, terrorist group formed in Lebanon. It is dedicated to the total elimination of Israel and closely allied with the Islamic Republic of Iran. Hezbullah attacked America repeatedly in the 1980s, to include the suicide truck bombing of the U.S. Embassy and U.S. Marine barracks in Beirut in September 1984, with the aim to drive the U.S. out of Lebanon.[12] They espouse holy war against non-Muslims and are one of the most dangerous Arab terrorist organizations in existence. Hezbullah has cells in many Middle East countries and Europe. They receive aid from Libya, Syria, Sudan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf oil states.

Al-Qaida was established by Osama bin Laden in the late 1980s to organize the Arabs that fought in Afghanistan against the Soviets. Its current goal is to force the U.S. to remove all American troops from the Arabian Peninsula.[13] America's status as the only world superpower, as well as its relationship with Israel and many Muslim countries, are the source of al-Qaida's aggression against the U.S. In 1998 Bin Laden issued an Islamic fatwa, although he does not have the credentials to speak for Islam, stating it was the duty of all Muslims to kill U.S. citizens, civilian or military, and their allies everywhere. Osama bin Laden and al-Qaida are responsible for the 11 September 2001 attacks against America.

The common themes among Muslim radicals, which resonate loudly throughout the Muslim world, is, eradicate Israel from the face of the earth, liberate Palestine for Palestinians, destroy Muslim regimes that support Western presence and influence in the Middle East, and force Westerners and non-Muslims out of Muslim countries. Although the U.S. has good relationships with many Middle East regimes, there is a dangerous segment of the Middle Eastern populace that does not want Western presence in Muslim countries.

In my search for justification of terrorism in Islamic doctrine, I found nothing that suggests that the monotheistic religions (Christianity, Judaism, and Islam) are so divergent from each other that the members of these religions cannot co-exist. Christians and Muslims shared the same land and lived in peace during the initial days of Islamic expansion. However, historical events, such as the religious Crusades, and colonial rule by the French, British and Italians, which subjugated Arabs to Christians, created the hatred that Muslims have for non-Muslims. These seeds of hatred festered and grew into today's Islamists with the establishment of Israel as a nation and America's commitment to protect the security of Israel from its Arab neighbors. The Quran specifically states, "War is permissible in self-defense, and under well defined limits. When undertaken, it must be pushed with vigor (but not be relentless), but only to restore peace and freedom for the worship of Allah. In any case, strict limits must not be transgressed: women, children, old and infirmed men should not be molested, nor trees and crops cut down, nor peace withheld when the enemy comes to terms.[14] Middle Eastern Muslim terrorists' interpretation of Jihad violates the guiding principles of the Quran, by permitting unrestricted terrorism against people of all ages and sexes.

America uses its world status as a political, economic and military superpower to support American interests around the world. Many Muslims perceive American interests in the Middle East as a threat to their welfare. These U.S. interests include:

> ➢ Oil distribution to the industrialized world. The availability of oil on the open market is a key U.S. interest since access to oil is instrumental to global economic growth.

> ➢ Defusing regional conflicts. The Israel-Palestinian conflict is an important interest because of the U.S./Israel relationship as well as America's distaste for the human suffering that has occurred as a result of the conflict.[15] The U.S. is committed to an independent Palestine, and peaceful existence between Israelis and Palestinians, but has not treated both sides equally when attempting to resolve the conflict between the two nations. The U.S. has not made a credible attempt to force Israel to abide by UN sanctions to leave the occupied territories of the 1967 War. If the U.S. would hold Israel to the same standards of conforming to UN Resolutions that it does for other Middle East nations, particularly Iraq, an end to the Arab-Israeli conflict might be on the horizon. The results of the 2003 war with Iraq may give the U.S. leverage to convince Israel to reconsider its position on its settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip and allow America to broker a solution to the Arab/Israeli conflict.

> ➢ The War Against Terrorism. The United States is fighting a war against terrorists around the world. The enemy is not a specific religious or ethnic group. The war is against anyone that commits premeditated violence against innocent civilians to achieve specific goals (be they political, social, economic or military), and the countries that harbor and support them.

In addition to the historical grievances between Christians and Muslims, and America's relationship with Israel, other challenges that impact stability in the Middle East are the political and economic challenges.

ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

The UN Security Council imposed economic sanctions against Iraq on 6 August 1990, following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. After Iraq was driven from Kuwait during the Gulf War, the Security Council kept the sanctions in place to force Saddam Hussein to

disarm, to return prisoners of war, and to discontinue development of weapons of mass destruction. The international community criticized continued use of sanctions because of the impact on Iraqi citizens but the United States and United Kingdom opposed removing the sanctions as long as Saddam Hussein remained in power. Former Secretary of State Madeleine Albright stated during a "60 Minutes" news interview "The price is worth it," when asked about the horrendous human consequences of sanctions imposed on Iraq.[16] From the position of the Iraqi people, who, unfortunately, are the unintended targets of economic sanctions, the former Secretary's statement damns the U.S. and aids in building solidarity within the Muslim world. The Iraqi people tolerated Saddam Hussein, regardless of his use of chemical weapons, and other brutal acts against them, while the West received the blame for the lack of medicines and food in Iraq. This has all changed since the start of the U.S. led war to remove Saddam Hussein and his regime from power. The Iraqi people are now receiving food, water, and medicines to alleviate their suffering. Regardless of the justification for imposing economic sanctions, the U.S. and UK assumed some responsibility for the suffering experienced by Iraqi people and are working diligently to rectify this situation.

We should also be concerned that over half of the 314 million Middle Eastern people are under the age of 20 and just entering the work force.[17] The Middle East needs to create more jobs, more housing, more utility services, and discover ways to equitably distribute the scarce Middle Eastern water resources to support these educated, young adults. The regimes of the wealthier nations must be convinced to dedicate a larger percentage of their wealth to provide for the needs of their young population. Water, which is in critical short supply in the Middle East, has been a source of conflict in the past and will become a greater issue in the future, because of the additional demands brought by the large adolescent population. The U.S. supported Israel's efforts to hoard water from its Arab neighbors, by allowing the construction of pipelines (water carrier systems) that redirect the sweet water of the Jordan River, and siphon water from the Litani and the Yarmuk rivers for Israel's use, thereby ignoring the needs of Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Here again, Western influence in the region breeds the perception that Israel prospers at the cost of Muslim suffering. U.S. intervention may be required to develop a means to redistribute water resources to all Middle East nations and not just Israel.

POLITICAL CHALLENGES

8

A power struggle exists within the Middle East Muslim community because of the different types of regimes that govern the region, and because of the rise in radical Islamic philosophy. Bahrain, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates are monarchies and although their rulers are, to various degrees, unrestrained, they are not authoritarian states like Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Yemen. A dictator leads the people in authoritarian states, and the people have little voice in how they are governed, or how the wealth of the nation is distributed. Syria is considered a hard line authoritarian state, just as Iraq was, where opposition to the ruling regime is not tolerated. Israel, Turkey and Lebanon are the only democracies in the region. Iran and Sudan are Islamic states, which means Islamic scholars rule the nation. In Iran, Islam provides a system of values norms and beliefs that permeate throughout all aspects of life.[18]

The struggle between radical and traditional Islamic beliefs poses a threat to American security because radical Muslims are willing and eager to use terrorism to eliminate Western influence in the region. Traditionalists want to employ peaceful means to accomplish the same goal. The radical Islamic figureheads are educated professionals who often do not have the credentials that authorize them to interpret the Quran, yet they claim to speak on behalf of Islam. The only legitimate Islamic religious leaders with the credentials to speak on behalf of Islam and issue a "fatwa" (religious ruling) are the Imams, Muftis, and Ulema. In Libya, Muammar Qaddafi has proclaimed the right to interpret Islam and question the authenticity of the traditions of the prophet Muhammad.[19] His proclamation may violate Shahada, the profession of faith, one of the pillars of the Islamic religion. Also consider Osama bin Laden, a radical Muslim, not a religious leader, with no authority to issue a fatwa, yet he preaches religious Jihad against the West and issued a "fatwa" urging Muslims to kill U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia. In 1998 bin Laden issued a second "fatwa" calling for attacks against U.S. civilians. He justifies the fatwa through the assertion that "the U.S. government committed acts that are extremely unjust, hideous, and criminal, and Muslims believe the U.S. is directly responsible for those killed in Palestine, Lebanon, and Iraq."[20] Radical Muslims use modern media technology to spread their ideologies to the poor, under-educated, rebellious youth and new followers of the Islamic faith.[21] Since the average literacy rate in the region is approximately 75%, more Muslims are able to read materials that espouse radical Islamic views. Radicals urge all Muslims to reject the capitalistic ways of the West and return to the principles established during the creation of the Islamic

faith. Radicals and traditionalists both profess that today's Muslims do not live according to true Islamic principles. Violence, however, is not part of the traditionalist's program for return to true Islam.

Muslim radicals not only challenge the authority of Western hegemony, they challenge the existing order of Islam and have the financial backing, either through other Muslim nations that support radical Islamic philosophy, or through wealthy benefactors such as Osama bin Laden, to spread their ideologies. Radical Muslims attack the traditionalists that support Western influence in the Middle East and attack moderate Muslims' interpretation and application of the guiding principles of Islam (the Five Pillars of Islam). They show disregard for the Sunni Islamic schools that teach Islamic doctrine and disrespect the scholars of traditional Sunni jurisprudential authority.[22] Ironically, their verbal challenge lends credibility to the traditional Islamic principles that endure criticism. But issuing fatwas that require Muslims to kill Americans to force them out of Muslim countries, or to assassinate Muslim leaders that disagree with radical ideology is criminal, and those guilty of these crimes will eventually be brought to justice. The Blind Sheikh, Omar Ahmad Abdel Rahman, a well-known Islamic radical, was responsible for authorizing the assassination of Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and is now incarcerated in the U.S. for his involvement in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.[23]

Traditional Muslims are the silent majority; they represent the poorest and less vocal Muslims. Traditionalists are not self-supporting, they are not political activists, and have no political organization to speak on their behalf. Their existence is focused purely on their religious orientation, and they have little or no involvement in political change.[24] Traditionalists need assistance combating the radical Islamic movement. The U.S., its friends, and allies must assist the legitimate, traditional Islamic leaders in becoming politically active and support them in spreading their beliefs to overpower the voices and political actions of the radicals. This can occur in moderate Middle East countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Oman, UAE, and Qatar, but in countries with authoritarian regimes like Iraq, Syria, and Yemen, Western influence is less pronounced and the military element of national power may be the only means to affect a change in philosophy. The outcome of the war against Saddam Hussein and his oppressive regime may change the practices of these authoritarian regimes. The longer it takes to assist the Imams, the Muftis and the Ulema to become more vocal in spreading their traditional philosophy, the more difficult it will be to stop the spread of radical Islamic views without armed conflict.

Now that we understand the source of radical Muslims' hatred towards the West, we will examine American policy and what America can do to prevent terrorism against its citizens in the next sections of this paper.

UNITED STATES' FOREIGN POLICY

U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East is divided into six major areas: (1) Achieving and maintaining a lasting peace between Israel and its neighbors; (2) U.S. commitment to Israel's security; (3) combating terrorism; (4) ensuring the U.S. has access to vital petroleum reserves; (5) promoting democracy and respect for human rights; (6) and enhancing business opportunities for American companies.[25]

Achieving lasting peace in the Middle East is an elusive goal; peace cannot be achieved if the countries involved do not want peace. Israel has a history of aggression against the Arab nations and the Arab nations have a history of retaliation against Israel. But one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter, which makes it impossible to lay total blame on either Israel or the Arab nations for initiating the conflict. It is reasonable to assume that Palestinians will continue to retaliate against Israelis in order to reclaim land they believe belongs to Arabs and also to recapture water resources. Regardless of who the original inhabitants of Palestine were, if Israelis were expelled from Israel today, where would they go? The establishment of Israel as an independent Jewish nation may not have been just when it occurred in 1948, but in 2003 nothing can be done to change the past. But, to complicate matters, Israel continues to undermine its Arab neighbors through its water rechanneling efforts, and by building and expanding settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the U.S. does nothing to rectify the situation for the benefit of all concerned. This unconditional support to Israel is counterproductive to efforts to establish a lasting peace between Israel and its neighbors. It legitimizes Muslims' distrust and hatred of the West.

The U.S. remains engaged in the Middle East to ensure the supply of oil to the global market is not disrupted, and to ensure that foreign oil suppliers cannot hold the U.S. and the rest of the industrialized world hostage. The U.S. encourages Middle East oil producers to open their energy production market to foreign investors, which will give investors leverage to prevent a reduction in oil supply. Saudi Arabia, the largest oil producer in the Middle East, has invited foreign companies to assist in the development of its natural gas resources. U.S. companies are leading the way in investing in this $25 billion enterprise.[26] The high dependency on imported oil by the U.S., and its friends and

11

allies, makes securing oil reserves to support the needs of the industrialized world a top U.S. national interest. Cooperation with energy producing countries will eliminate the impact of supply disruption, promote trade and investment, and improve the global energy market.

The U.S. is self-reliant for all energy resources except oil. Fifty-two percent of America's consumer oil is imported. Europe also imports 52% of its oil requirements, while Japan imports 98% of its oil requirements. It is estimated that by 2023 America's oil consumption will increase 33%. The Energy Information Administration estimates that U.S. imported oil demands could increase to 62% of our total oil consumption by 2020.[27] The U.S. purchases imported oil from several countries but primarily from Canada, Venezuela, Mexico, and Saudi Arabia, with Canada being our leading supplier of imported natural gas, electricity and oil. The U.S. imports crude oil and electricity from Mexico then exports refined petroleum products and natural gas back to Mexico. At the May 2002 U.S.-Russian Summit, President George W. Bush initiated energy discussions with Russia, the world's second largest producer of crude oil. Although the U.S. does not rely heavily on Middle East oil, the energy market is global, and any disturbances in oil flow that initially affect other countries will eventually transmit to the U.S. through prices. The Middle East maintains two-thirds of the world's known crude oil reserves and is adding new oil production capacity to the world market, but significant amounts of Middle East oil are controlled by nations hostile towards the U.S., including Iraq and Iran.

UNITED STATES' POLICY AGAINST TERRORISM

President George W. Bush stated that the war on terrorism will eliminate terrorist organizations that attack the American way of life and the countries that harbor them. He has not declared a war against Muslims. The President directed that the scope of the war on terrorism be framed by four policy principles which guide our counter-terrorism strategy: (1) Make no concessions to terrorists and strike no deals; (2) terrorists who attack American citizens will be tracked down no matter how long it takes and brought to justice for their crimes; (3) pressure will be applied to states that sponsor terrorism to isolate them and force them to change their behavior; and (4) counter-terrorism training from U.S. government agencies, including military training by the Department of Defense, will be used to bolster international capabilities to combat terrorism in those countries that work with the United States and require assistance.[28] A Terrorist Threat Integration Center has been established to gather and analyze terrorist-related

12

information collected domestically and abroad in order to form a comprehensive threat picture to be shared by the Central Intelligence Agency, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the newly established Department of Homeland Security, and the Department of Defense.[29]

UNITED STATES' COURSE OF ACTION

The war on terrorism will not be won simply by meeting violence with violence, but will require America to use all elements of national power, as follows:

Diplomatic. The U.S. will not succeed in winning the war on terrorism without coalition support. The U.S. must have the support of other nations to reduce the footprint of terrorist organizations and control the flow of capital used to finance terrorist missions. A coalition against terrorism will deny terrorists sanctuaries to train recruits and escape capture.

Informational. The U.S. will capture terrorists and destroy their infrastructure with military action, but such actions will not stop new organizations from forming or new members from taking up the anti-American banner. Young, rebellious, under-educated, poor Muslims, who are the recruits of terrorist groups, must be educated to understand American foreign policy. Additionally, the US and its allies must assist the traditional religious leaders (the Imams, the Muftis, and the Ulema) in spreading traditional Islamic beliefs and overpowering the voices of radical Muslims by financing newspaper printing, publishing and distributing books, and financing radio and television broadcasting stations. The availability and use of all forms of mass media production will provide the means through which traditional Islamic leaders can become more prominent and influential to a greater audience of Muslims.

Military. The Military element of power will control terrorist actions and prevent terrorists from committing acts of violence at will. Military action is required to attack terrorist strongholds, capture terrorists, and punish countries that provide sanctuary to these organizations.[30] The two main tasks required of the military are to:

Aggressively attack and destroy terrorist training camps wherever they may exist.

Aggressively hunt down, and capture terrorists whenever and wherever they are found.

A third task, which requires coordination of the economic, military, and diplomatic elements of power, is to coerce regimes that support terrorism to get out of the terrorism business, either by threat of or deliberate military action, economic sanctions, or through diplomatic means.

Economic. The U.S. and its friends must continue to support world aid organizations in the distribution of food, water, and medicines to impoverished Middle East countries, as well as other poor nations around the world. Although much of the aid may not reach its intended recipients because of interdiction by corrupt regimes, once the aid is received in-country the use of other elements of U.S. power, and United Nations intervention, may coerce these regimes to abandon their oppressive practices.

After 11 September 2001, President Bush directed the FBI and the Attorney General to make preventing future terrorist attacks against the United States their highest priority. Since that declaration, the FBI has successfully disrupted plots against Americans on U.S. soil. The CIA has been instrumental in disrupting terrorist attacks around the world through its operatives on foreign soil.[31] The CIA has doubled the size of its Counter-Terrorism Center and quadrupled its number of counter-terrorism analysts. The Department of Homeland Security is working with the FBI and CIA to ensure that threat information is disseminated as quickly as possible to all sectors of American society.

CONCLUSION

The conflict between Muslims and Christians has existed since the 11th century religious Crusades. After the fall of the Ottoman Empire, in approximately 1918, ancient wounds caused by the religious Crusades were re-opened when Western nations colonized the Middle East. Hatred towards Israel and the United States intensified when Israel was established as an independent nation in occupied Palestinian territory in 1948, and the U.S. grew biased in support of Israel and against the Arab world.

Arab nations are concerned about U.S. military presence in the Middle East. Twelve years after the U.S. led a victorious coalition against Iraq in the Persian Gulf War the U.S. maintains a strong military presence in Saudi Arabia. Now, in 2003, the United States leads another coalition to free Iraqi people from Saddam Hussein and his

oppressive regime. The nation-building that will follow the end of the 2003 War with Iraq will again require U.S. military presence in Iraq for many years, to ensure Iraq has a stable government (possibly democratic), selected by the Iraqi people. It is too early to determine what effects the outcome of the current war with Iraq will have on Middle East Muslims' perception of the U.S., or on their desire to expel the U.S. military from the Middle East. For now, the Iraqi people appear to be elated that the War against the Saddam Hussein regime has gone in favor of the coalition. Other Middle Eastern nations, however, show no signs of increased desire for U.S. presence in the Middle East. No one knows what Middle East terrorists are contemplating, but it is safe to say that as long as the U.S. continues affecting the economic and political affairs in the Middle East and is committed to protecting the security of Israel, the United States will be viewed as an enemy to the Arab world, and there will be no peace agreement between the U.S. and Middle East terrorists. Americans will remain targets of terrorists until the U.S. withdraws its military from the region and lets Middle East Muslim nations take care of their own affairs.

Americans have been targets of terrorist acts of violence for decades: The bombing of PAN AM flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, on 21 December 1988; the murder of Rabbi Meir Kahane, an Israeli-American, in Manhattan in November 1990; the bombing of the World Trade Center parking basement on 26 February 1993;[32] the bombing of the United States embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania on 7 August 1998; and the bombing of the USS Cole on 12 October 2000 are examples of recent terrorist strikes against Americans. But America did not declare war on terrorism until after 11 September 2001. Although it is perceived as such, America is diligent about not making this a war against Muslims. The United States recognizes that terrorism is not a product of the Islamic faith, although many of today's known terrorists are Muslims. Muslim extremists declare anti-Western terrorist acts a religious obligation and encourage their followers to kill Americans and Jews. Middle East terrorists challenge the authority of Western hegemony and they challenge the existing order of Islam. They consider attacking Muslims who accept Western influence in the Middle East an obligation of all true followers of the Islamic faith.

Muslim scholars and clerics reject Islamic extremism, but they are not vocal enough to prevent the spread of radical Islamic views. Muslim extremists want to remake the world by imposing their radical views on people everywhere. The majority of the Muslim community is not radical; the radicals are more aggressive, more outspoken,

and their violent behavior attracts the attention of the world. Even so, military action will disrupt the infrastructure of terrorist organizations and capture known terrorists, but it will not stop new members from taking up the anti-American banner. Winning the hearts and minds of young, under educated, rebellious Muslims must be accomplished from within the Muslim community. The Imams, Muftis, and Ulema must become more aggressive in spreading traditional Islamic principles. Any obvious interference from the West will only infuriate the radicals more and intensify their hatred towards the West and Muslim regimes that allow the West to influence their actions. Financing newspaper publishers, publishing and distributing books on traditional Islam, and funding radio and television broadcasting stations may be all the help the traditional Islamic leaders need to attract the attention of the next generation of Muslims. The U.S. and its allies must support the traditional Islamic leaders in reaching the masses of Muslims.

The war on terrorism is cited as a top priority of the U.S. 2002 National Security Strategy. This critical document specifically addresses strengthening America's alliances to defeat terrorism and striving to stop attacks against the United States and its friends. In response to terrorist threats, President George W. Bush instituted the largest government reorganization since the Truman administration created the National Security Council and the Department of Defense. Centered on a new Department of Homeland Security, including a new unified military command (Northern Command), the Bush Administration's comprehensive plan to secure the homeland encompasses every level of government and bolsters cooperation between the public and the private sectors.[33] The U.S. military, police departments, intelligence community, the Department of Defense, the Department of Homeland Security, and the newly established Terrorist Threat Integration Center will work together to protect Americans and their interests at home and abroad.

The war on terrorism will take years to win, and will require the participation of the entire rational world.

Word count = 6386

ENDNOTES

16

[1] For the purposes of discussion in this paper, I am defining the Middle East as including the following nations: Bahrain, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, UAE (United Arab Emirates) and Yemen. I recognize that the boundaries of the Middle East have included nations in North Africa, the Levant (Eastern Mediterranean), the Persian Gulf, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Also I am aware that the Islamic world expands even further to include nations in East Asia, Europe, and the United States.

[2] Walker, Martin. "A Brief History of Terrorism." Europe Magazine. October, 2001, issue No. 410.

[3] Pike, Albert. "The Ku Klux Klan and More." 1998.

[4] "History of the IRA: The Irish Republican Army and the Armed Struggle in Irish Politics." http://www.geocites.com?CapitolHill/Congress/2435/irahist.html. Obtained 31 January 2002.

[5] "Patterns of Global Terrorism – 2001." U.S. Department of State Background Information on Designated Foreign Terrorist organizations. 21 May 2002.

[6] Benjamin, Daniel and Simon, Steven. The Age of Sacred Terror. New York: Random House, 2002. pp. 57-59.

[7] Irwin. Robert. "Is this the Man Who Inspired Bin Laden?" Guardian Unlimited. 1 November 2001.

[8] Benjamin: p. 62-71.

[9] "Patterns of Global Terrorism – 2001." U.S. Department of State Background Information on Designated Foreign Terrorist organizations. 21 May 2002.

[10] "Patterns of Global Terrorism – 2001." U.S. Department of State Background Information on Designated Foreign Terrorist organizations. 21 May 2002.

[11] Benjamin: p. 127.

[12] "Arab-Palestinian Terror Groups." http://avpv.tripod.com/terror-groups.html. Obtained 10 March 2003.

[13] Benjamin: p. 119-124.

[14] Ali, Abdullah Yusuf. The Holy Quran, Tenth Edition. Maryland: Amana, 2001. pp. 76.

[15] Bush, George W., President of the United States. "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, 2002." 17 September 2002.

[16] CBS News, 60 Minutes, 12 May 1996.

[17] Wiley, Winston P. "Middle East Policy Planning for a New Administration." Proceedings of the Washington Institute. The Washington Institute for Near East, 2001.

[18] Congressional Quarterly: The Middle East, Ninth Edition. Washington: CQ press, 2000. pp. 195-196.

[19] Esposito, John L. The Islamic Threat, Myth or Reality? New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. pp.8.

[20] Aita, Judy. "Bin laden, Atef Indicted in U.S. Federal Courts for African Bombings." United States Information Agency, 4 November 1998.

[21] Esposito: p.10.

[22] Kabbani, Shaykh Muhammad Hisham. "200 Years of New Kharijism: The Ongoing Revision of Islam." Islamic Supreme Council of America, 2002.

[23] Benjamin: p. 69-72

[24] Congressional Quarterly: The Middle East: p. 213.

[25] Pelletreau, Robert H., Asst. Secretary for Near East Affairs. "Developments in the Middle East." Dispatch, Volume 7, Number 40, 1996.

[26] Larson, Alan P., Under Secretary of State for Economic, Business, and Agricultural Affairs. Testimony before the House of Representatives International Relations Committee. U.S. Dependence on Foreign Oil Will Continue. 2002.

[27] Larson, U.S. Dependence on Foreign Oil Will Continue, 2002.

[28] "Patterns of Global Terrorism – 2001." U.S. Department of State Background Information on Designated Foreign Terrorist organizations. 21 May 2002.

[29] "Strengthening Intelligence to Better Protect America." White House Fact Sheet, 2003.

[30] "Strengthening Intelligence to Better Protect America. " White House Fact Sheet, 2003.

[31] "Worldwide Threat Briefing in 2003: Evolving Dangers in a Complex World." Director of Central Intelligence, Speeches and Testimony. 2003.

[32] Williams, Dave. "The Bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City." International Criminal Police Review – No 469-471, 1998.

[33] Bush, George W., President of the United States. "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, 2002." 17 September 2002.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aita, Judy. "Bin laden, Atef Indicted in U.S. Federal Courts for African Bombings." United States Information Agency, 4 November 1998.

Ali, AbdullahYUsuf. The Holy Quran, Tenth Edition. Maryland: Amana, 2001.

"Arab-Palestinian Terror Groups." http://avpv.tripod.com/terror-groups.html. Obtained 10 March 2003.

Benjamin, Daniel and Simon, Steven. The Age of Sacred Terror. New York: Random House, 2000.

Bush, George W., President of the United States. "The National Security Strategy of the United States of America, 2002." 17 September 2002.

CBS News, 60 Minutes, 12 May 1996.

"Congressional Quarterly: The Middle East," Ninth Edition. Washington: CQ press, 2000.

Esposito, John L. The Islamic Threat, Myth or Reality? New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

"History of the IRA: The Irish Republican Army and the Armed Struggle in Irish Politics." http://www.geocites.com?CapitolHill/Congress/2435/irahist.html. Obtained 31 January 2002.

Irwin. Robert. "Is this the Man Who Inspired Bin Laden?" Guardian Unlimited. 1 November 2001.

Kabbani, Shaykh Muhammad Hisham. "200 Years of New Kharijism: The Ongoing Revision of Islam." Islamic Supreme Council of America, 2002.

Larson, Alan P., Under Secretary of State for Economic, Business, and Agricultural Affairs. Testimony before the House of Representatives International Relations Committee. U.S. Dependence on Foreign Oil Will Continue. 2002.

"Patterns of Global Terrorism – 2001." U.S. Department of State Background Information on Designated Foreign Terrorist organizations. 21 May 2002.

Pelletreau, Robert H., Asst. Secretary for Near East Affairs. "Developments in the Middle East." Dispatch, Volume 7, Number 40, 1996.

Pike, Albert. "The Ku Klux Klan and More." 1998.

"Strengthening Intelligence to Better Protect America." White House Fact Sheet, 2003.

Walker, Martin. "A Brief History of Terrorism." Europe Magazine. October, 2001, issue No. 410.

Wiley, Winston P. "Middle East Policy Planning for a New Administration." Proceedings
    of the Washington Institute. The Washington Institute for Near East, 2001.

Williams, Dave. "The Bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City."
    <u>International Criminal Police Review</u> – No 469-471, 1998.

"Worldwide Threat Briefing in 2003: Evolving Dangers in a Complex World." Director of
    Central Intelligence, Speeches and Testimony. 2003.